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TO: Secretary of State

NO: SECTO 21, JUNE 5, 1 A.M. (SECTION ONE OF TWO)

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SENT DEPARTMENT SECTO 21; REPEATED INFORMATION LONDON NIACI 834,
BONN 287, BERLIN 39, USUN 202.

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FOLLOWING IS SOVIET TRANSLATION OF TEXT AIDE MEMOIRE ON
 GERMANY AND BERLIN HANDED BY SOVIETS TO US OFFICIALS FOLLOWING
 CONFERENCE JUNE 4 BETWEEN KHRUSHCHEV AND PRESIDENT. COPY WILL
 BE HANDED PM MACMILLAN IN LONDON. SECRETARY PLANNING DISTRIBUTED
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1. THE YEARS OLD DELAY WITH THE PEACE SETTLEMENT IN GERMANY
 HAS LARGELY PREDETERMINED THE DANGEROUS COURSE OF DEVELOPMENTS —
 IN EUROPE IN THE POST-WAR PERIOD. MAJOR DECISIONS OF THE ALLIES
 ON THE ERADICATION OF MILITARISM IN GERMANY, WHICH ONCE WERE
 CONSIDERED BY THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE USSR
 AS THE GUARANTEE OF STABLE PEACE, HAVE BEEN IMPLEMENTED ONLY
 PARTIALLY AND NOW ARE ACTUALLY NOT BEING OBSERVED ON THE
 GREATER PART OF GERMAN TERRITORY. OF THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE
 TWO GERMAN STATES WHICH APPEARED AFTER THE WAR, IT IS ONLY THE
 GOVERNMENT OF THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC THAT RECOGNIZES
 AND ADHERES TO THESE AGREEMENTS. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE FEDERAL
 REPUBLIC OF GERMANY PUBLICLY PROCLAIMS ITS NEGATIVE ATTITUDE
 TO THESE AGREEMENTS, CULTIVATES SABRE-RATTLING MILITARISM AND
 ADVOCATES THE REVISION OF THE GERMAN FRONTIERS AND THE RESULTS
 OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR. IT TRIES TO SUBSTANTIATE ITS AGGRESSIVE
 PLANS BY A POWERFUL MILITARY BASIS, TO KINDLE THE DANGEROUS
 FIRES OF CONFLICTS ON GERMAN SOIL AND TO SET THE FORMER ALLIES
 IN THE ANTI-HITLER COALITION AT LOGGERHEADS.

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-2- SECTO 21, JUNE 5, 1 AM (SECTION ONE OF TWO) FROM PARIS

THE WESTERN POWERS HAVE ALLOWED THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY TO START ACCUMULATING ARMAMENTS AND SETTING UP AN ARMY WHICH ARE CLEARLY IN EXCESS OF THE DEFENCE NEEDS. THE NATO POWERS TOOK NEW DANGEROUS STEPS WHEN THEY GAVE THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY PERMISSION TO BUILD WARSHIPS OF UP TO 6 THOUSAND TONS DISPLACEMENT AND ALSO TO USE THE TERRITORY OF GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE AND ITALY FOR MILITARY BASES OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY.

2. THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT SINCERELY DESIRES TO REMOVE THE SOURCES OF TENSION BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE USSR AND TO PROCEED TO CONSTRUCTIVE FRIENDLY COOPERATION. THE CONCLUSION OF A GERMAN PEACE TREATY WOULD ALLOW THE TWO COUNTRIES TO COME MUCH CLOSER TO THE ATTAINMENT OF THIS GOAL. THE USSR AND THE UNITED STATES FOUGHT TOGETHER AGAINST THE HITLERITE GERMANY. THEIR COMMON DUTY IS TO CONCLUDE A GERMAN PEACE TREATY AND THEREBY CREATE A RELIABLE GUARANTEE THAT GERMAN SOIL WILL NEVER AGAIN GIVE BIRTH TO FORCES WHICH COULD PLUNGE THE WORLD INTO A NEW AND EVEN MORE DEVASTATING WAR. IF THE DESIRE OF THE SOVIET UNION TO CONSOLIDATE PEACE AND TO PREVENT THE UNLEASHING OF A NEW WORLD WAR IN EUROPE DOES NOT RUN COUNTER TO THE INTENTIONS OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, THEN IT WILL NOT BE DIFFICULT TO REACH AGREEMENT.

3. PROCEEDING FROM A REALISTIC EVALUATION OF THE SITUATION, THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT STANDS FOR THE IMMEDIATE CONCLUSION OF A PEACE TREATY WITH GERMANY. THE QUESTION OF A PEACE TREATY IS ONE THAT CONCERN'S THE NATIONAL SECURITY OF THE USSR AND OF MANY OTHER STATES. THE TIME HAS ALREADY PASSED WHEN THE SITUATION IN GERMANY COULD BE LEFT UNCHANGED, ALL THE PREREQUISITES FOR THE CONCLUSION OF A PEACE TREATY MATURED A LONG TIME AGO AND SUCH TREATY MUST BE CONCLUDED. THE CRUX OF THE MATTER CONSISTS IN WHO AND WHEN WILL CONCLUDE IT, AND WHETHER THIS WILL INVOLVE UNNECESSARY OUTLAYS. (.)

4. THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT IS NOT PURSUING THE TASK OF HARMING THE INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES OR OTHER WESTERN POWERS IN

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EUROPE. IT DOES NOT PROPOSE TO CHANGE ANYTHING EITHER IN GERMANY OR IN WEST BERLIN TO THE BENEFIT OF ANY SINGLE STATE OR OF A GROUP OF STATES. THE USSR DEEMS IT NECESSARY IN THE INTERESTS OF CONSOLIDATING PEACE TO FORMALLY RECOGNIZE THE SITUATION WHICH DEVELOPED IN EUROPE AFTER THE WAR, TO FORMALIZE JURIDICALLY AND TO SECURE THE INVIABILITY OF THE EXISTING GERMAN BORDERS, TO NORMALIZE THE SITUATION IN WEST BERLIN ON THE BASIS OF REASONABLE REGARD FOR THE INTERESTS OF ALL THE PARTIES CONCERNED.

IN ORDER TO FACILITATE AGREEMENT ON A PEACE TREATY THE SOVIET UNION DOES NOT INSIST ON THE IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY FROM NATO. THE TWO GERMAN STATES COULD FOR A CERTAIN PERIOD, EVEN AFTER THE CONCLUSION OF A PEACE TREATY, REMAIN IN THE MILITARY GROUPINGS TO WHICH THEY NOW BELONG.

THE SOVIET PROPOSAL DOES NOT BIND THE CONCLUSION OF A PEACE TREATY WITH THE RECOGNITION OF THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OR THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY BY ALL THE PARTIES TO THIS TREATY. IT IS UP TO EACH GOVERNMENT TO DECIDE WHETHER IT WILL OR WILL NOT RECOGNIZE THIS OR THAT STATE.

IF THE UNITED STATES IS NOT PREPARED TO SIGN A SINGLE PEACE TREATY WITH THE TWO GERMAN STATES, A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT COULD BE ACHIEVED ON THE BASIS OF TWO TREATIES. IN THAT CASE THE STATES THAT PARTICIPATED IN THE ANTI-HITLERITE COALITION WOULD SIGN A PEACE TREATY WITH TWO OR ONE GERMAN STATE AT THEIR OWN DISCRETION. THESE TREATIES NEED NOT BE COMPLETELY IDENTICAL BUT THEY MUST CONTAIN THE SAME PROVISIONS ON THE MOST IMPORTANT POINTS OF A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT.

5. THE CONCLUSION OF A GERMAN PEACE TREATY WOULD ALSO SOLVE THE PROBLEM OF NORMALIZING THE SITUATION IN WEST BERLIN.

DEPRIVED OF A STABLE INTERNATIONAL STATUS WEST BERLIN AT PRESENT IS A PLACE WHERE THE BONN REVENGE-SEEKING CIRCLES UNCEASINGLY MAINTAIN

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UNCEASINGLY MAINTAIN A TENSE SITUATION AND ENGINEER ALL KINDS OF PROVOCATIONS THAT ARE VERY DANGEROUS FOR PEACE. WE ARE DUTY BOUND TO PREVENT SUCH A DEVELOPMENT WHEN THE STRENGTHENING OF WEST GERMAN MILITARISM COULD LEAD TO IRREPARABLE CONSEQUENCES DUE TO THE UNSETTLED SITUATION IN WEST BERLIN.

AT PRESENT THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT DOES NOT SEE A BETTER WAY TO SOLVE THE WEST BERLIN PROBLEM THAN BY TRANSFORMING IT INTO A DEMILITARIZED FREE CITY. THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROPOSAL TO TURN WEST BERLIN INTO A FREE CITY, WITH THE INTERESTS OF ALL PARTIES TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION, WOULD NORMALIZE THE SITUATION IN WEST BERLIN. THE EXISTING OCCUPATION REGIME HAS ALREADY OUTLIVED ITSELF AND HAS LOST ALL CONNECTION WITH THE PURPOSES FOR WHICH IT WAS ESTABLISHED, AS WELL AS WITH THE TREATIES CONCLUDED BY THE ALLIES ON GERMANY ON THE BASIS OF WHICH IT EXISTED. THE OCCUPATION RIGHTS WILL NATURALLY CEASE TO EXIST UPON THE SIGNING OF A GERMAN PEACE TREATY, WHETHER IT IS SIGNED WITH BOTH GERMAN STATES OR ONLY WITH THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC ON WHOSE TERRITORY WEST BERLIN IS SITUATED.

THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT BELIEVES THAT THE FREE CITY OF WEST BERLIN SHOULD MAINTAIN UNOBSTRUCTED CONTACTS WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD AND THAT ITS INTERNAL LIFE SHOULD BE DETERMINED BY THE FREELY EXPRESSED WILL OF ITS POPULATION. THE UNITED STATES AS WELL AS OTHER COUNTRIES WOULD NATURALLY HAVE EVER POSSIBILITY TO MAINTAIN AND DEVELOP THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE FREE CITY.

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JUNE 5, 1961

12:36 AM

FROM: PARIS

1961 JUN 5 AM 9.00

TO: Secretary of State DEPARTMENT OF STATE
NO: SECTO 21, JUNE 5, 1 AM (SECTION TWO OF TWO)

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BONN 287, BERLIN 39, USUN 202.

IN GENERAL, WEST BERLIN, AS THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT SEES IT, SHOULD BE STRICTLY NEUTRAL. OF COURSE, IT CANNOT BE PERMITTED THAT WEST BERLIN SHOULD CONTINUE TO BE USED AS A BASE FOR INCITING HOSTILE ACTIVITY AGAINST THE USSR, THE GDR OR ANY OTHER STATE OR THAT IT SHOULD REMAIN A DANGEROUS HOTBED OF TENSION AND INTERNATIONAL CONFLICTS.

THE USSR PROPOSES THAT RELIABLE GUARANTEES SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED AGAINST INTERFERENCE IN THE AFFAIRS OF THE FREE CITY ON THE PART OF ANY STATE. AS A GUARANTEE OF THE FREE CITY TOKEN TROOP CONTINGENTS OF THE UNITED STATES, GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE AND THE USSR COULD BE STATIONED IN WEST BERLIN. THE USSR WOULD HAVE NO OBJECTIONS EITHER AGAINST THE STATIONING THERE FOR THE SAME PURPOSE OF CONTINGENTS OF NEUTRAL STATES UNDER THE UN AEGIS. THE STATUS OF A FREE CITY COULD BE REGISTERED IN DUE FORM BY THE UNITED NATIONS AND FORMALIZED BY THE AUTHORITY OF THAT INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION. THE SOVIET SIDE AGREES TO DISCUSS ANY OTHER MEASURES THAT COULD GUARANTEE THE FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE OF WEST BERLIN AS A FREE DEMILITARIZED CITY.

ALL THIS CONSIDERED, THE SETTLEMENT OF THE WEST BERLIN PROBLEM SHOULD NATURALLY TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE NECESSITY OF RESPECTING AND STRICTLY OBSERVING THE SOVEREIGN RIGHTS OF THE GDR WHICH IS KNOWN TO HAVE DECLARED ITS READINESS TO JOIN SUCH AN AGREEMENT AND RESPECT IT.

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6. THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT PROPOSES TO DECIDE RIGHT NOW WITHOUT ANY DELAY ON THE CONVOCATION OF A PEACE CONFERENCE TO CONCLUDE A GERMAN PEACE TREATY AND TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM OF WEST BERLIN AS A FREE CITY ON THIS BASIS. IF FOR SOME REASON THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER WESTERN POWERS ARE NOT READY AT PRESENT FOR THIS, AN INTERIM DECISION COULD BE TAKEN FOR A SPECIFIED PERIOD OF TIME.

THE FOUR POWERS WILL APPEAL TO THE GERMAN STATES TO COME TO AN AGREEMENT IN ANY FORM ACCEPTABLE FOR THEM ON PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH A PEACE SETTLEMENT WITH GERMANY AND ITS REUNIFICATION. THE FOUR POWERS WILL DECLARE IN ADVANCE THAT THEY WILL RECOGNIZE ANY AGREEMENT ACHIEVED BY THE GERMANS.

IN THE EVENT OF A FAVOURABLE OUTCOME OF THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE GDR AND THE FRG A SINGLE GERMAN PEACE TREATY WOULD BE AGREED UPON AND SIGNED. IF THE TWO GERMAN STATES FAIL TO REACH AGREEMENT ON THE ABOVE-MENTIONED ISSUES, STEPS WILL BE TAKEN TO CONCLUDE A PEACE TREATY WITH THE TWO GERMAN STATES OR WITH ONE OF THEM AT THE DISCRETION OF THE STATES CONCERNED.

TO AVOID DELAY OF A PEACE SETTLEMENT IT IS NECESSARY TO FIX A TIME LIMIT, IN THE COURSE OF WHICH THE GERMANS SHOULD SEEK POSSIBLE WAYS FOR AGREEMENTS ON PROBLEMS OF INTERNAL COMPETENCE. THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT CONSIDERS THAT NOT MORE THAN 6 MONTHS ARE NEEDED FOR SUCH NEGOTIATIONS. SUCH A PERIOD IS QUITE SUFFICIENT FOR THE GDR AND FRG TO ESTABLISH CONTACTS AND TO NEGOTIATE, SINCE AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE NECESSITY OF PUTTING AN END TO THE VESTIGES OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR IN EUROPE HAS MATURED DURING THE SIXTEEN POST-WAR YEARS.

7. THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT IS PREPARED TO CONSIDER ANY CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSALS OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT ON A GERMAN PEACE TREATY AND ON NORMALIZING THE SITUATION IN WEST BERLIN. THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT WILL SHOW A MAXIMUM OF GOOD WILL SO THAT THE QUESTION OF A GERMAN PEACE TREATY COULD BE SETTLED BY MUTUAL

AGREEMENT

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AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE USSR, THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER STATES CONCERNED. THE SIGNING OF A GERMAN PEACE TREATY BY ALL THE PARTICIPANTS OF THE ANTI-HITLERITE COALITION AND THE SETTLEMENT OF THE QUESTION OF A NEUTRAL STATUS FOR WEST BERLIN ON THIS BASIS WOULD CREATE BETTER CONDITIONS FOR TRUST BETWEEN STATES AND FOR THE SOLUTION OF SUCH IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS AS DISARMAMENT AND OTHERS. IF THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT SHOW THAT IT REALIZES THE NECESSITY OF CONCLUDING A PEACE TREATY, WE SHALL DEPLORE THIS. AND, SINCE IT IS IMPOSSIBLE AND DANGEROUS TO DELAY THE CONCLUSION OF A PEACE TREATY, WE SHALL BE OBLIGED TO SIGN ONE NOT WITH ALL STATES BUT ONLY WITH THOSE THAT WISH TO SIGN IT.

THE PEACE TREATY WILL FORMALLY DEFINE THE STATUS OF WEST BERLIN AS A FREE CITY AND THE SOVIET UNION, LIKE THE OTHER PARTIES TO THE TREATY, WILL, OF COURSE, STRICTLY OBSERVE IT; MEASURES WILL ALSO BE TAKEN TO ENSURE THAT IT IS OBSERVED BY OTHER COUNTRIES. AT THE SAME TIME THIS WILL MEAN PUTTING AN END TO THE OCCUPATION REGIME IN WEST BERLIN WITH ALL ITS IMPLICATIONS. NOTABLY ALL QUESTIONS OF COMMUNICATIONS BY LAND, WATER, OR AIR THROUGH THE GDR WILL BE SETTLED ONLY BY APPROPRIATE AGREEMENTS WITH THE GDR. THAT IS BUT NATURAL SINCE CONTROL OVER SUCH COMMUNICATIONS IS AN INALIENABLE RIGHT OF EVERY SOVEREIGN STATE.

8. THE CONCLUSION OF A GERMAN TREATY WILL BE AN IMPORTANT STEP TOWARDS THE FINAL POST-WAR SETTLEMENT IN EUROPE WHICH THE SOVIET UNION IS PERSISTENTLY STRIVING FOR.

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